struck the sugar cane itself, and production again dropped greatly. At the same time, coffee began to attract attention in São Paulo and the few slaves for sale were sent there, where they commanded a higher price, thereby causing a shortage of workmen in the Recôncavo. In 1888 a final blow was the abolition of slavery. Production dropped to a new low, and the twentieth century was entered during what was called the gravest crisis the industry had ever experienced.

During the late nineteenth century there were several attempts to better the machinery used in the fabrication of sugar. New methods were introduced from abroad, and at the turn of the century the usina made its first appearance on the scene. The usina represents the large-scale central factory, designed to mill the cane of many plantations, thereby raising the total sugar production.[2] The state government took a hand and financed the construction of three factories which were given to various individuals as concessions. There was an effort to revive the industry on a different and stronger basis. At the same time, however, the Recôncavo, as well as other parts of Brazil, felt the pull of the rubber boom in the Amazon and lost some of its manpower. But once again a European war came to the rescue, and during the second and third decades of this century the sugar industry prospered. Many factories were erected, and there was a definite feeling of optimism, which ended abruptly in 1929 and 1930 as a result of prolonged overproduction. In 1933 the Institute of Sugar and Alcohol was established by the national government to regulate production. The new regulations caused dissatisfaction and disputes, and production fell off sharply, only to rise again after World War II when many of the restrictions imposed by the institute were lifted. At the present time the Recôncavo seems to be experiencing a mild phase of affluence.

It is the introduction of the large-scale central factory which holds the most interest for us in this recital of crises, for it was this innovation which brought the maximum amount of change to the town and the entire community structure.

The factory was conceived of as a large mechanized mill,

---

2. Hereafter, the word "factory" will be used to designate the usina; wherever the word "factory" appears it should be understood to mean sugar-cane milling factory, unless otherwise qualified. (Editor's note.)

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL, SLI

Octavio da Costa Eduardo in Maranhão; Seth Leacock at Belém; Duglas Teixeira Monteiro at Vitória; Nelson de Senna in Minas Gerais; Candido Procópio Ferreira de Camargo in São Paulo; and several authors with a more general reference, including, especially, Arthur Ramos (1938b, 1942, 1943, 1949). Frazier (1942) studied the structure and function of the family among colored persons at Bahia.

If this were a revised edition, certain alterations or additions would be made; for instance, it probably would be advantageous either to bring over into English or to identify more extensively several terms which were left in Portuguese, either because translation would have distorted meaning or because the author was in doubt regarding an *adequate* rendering in English and unable to resolve the problem by a return to the field or through correspondence, yet desirous to be as precise as possible. An effort was made to define each term when first introduced; but this is perhaps inadequate, especially where the term appears again, later, several pages away. To obviate this difficulty somewhat, a glossary is appended to the present edition.[30]

Today, we probably would use a substitute for "branco da Bahia" (p. 139 and *passim*), since this term is ordinarily used only outside Bahia, and—more especially—since we subsequently have learned that it sometimes carries a certain depreciatory connotation.[31] Besides, it is subject to some ambiguity, as José Valadares (1943), in a perhaps humorous

[30] A few words which were spelled according to the custom prevailing at the time, previous to the "spelling reform" some years later, should be altered; for example, cathedrático (p. 189), is now spelled "catedrático," and paranympho (p. 190), "paraninfo."

[31] Ribeiro (1956:128) reports this term used at Recife when scoffing at persons "the legitimacy of whose pretentions to being white is subject to question."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SL1

[City of Salvador]

CHAPTER I

THE SEAPORT OF BAHIA

JAMES BRYCE once wrote of the racial situation in Brazil: "It is a subject of study all the more interesting because the relations are . . . . different from those . . . . in the British colonies, in India, and in the United States."[1] Bryce might well have added that such differences constitute one of the more significant portions of any study of race relations. It is by investigating in intimate and concrete detail variant racial situations in different parts of the world and subsequently comparing and contrasting each set of conditions and circumstances that we are able to build up, case by case, a more complete knowledge of the race problem, its sources and nature. The more we see the United States and her problems through the perspective of a world-view—the more, in other words, we detach ourselves from the merely local and provincial—the more clearly will our own problems stand out.

If one looks about in Brazil for a door, so to speak, through which he may enter to examine at first hand the Brazilian racial situation, he may well choose the picturesque old seaport of Bahia,[2] known affectionately in Brazil as "A Mulata Velha." For here the processes of racial adjustment have perhaps gone on longest and most persistently, have involved large numbers from each of the three basic human

[1] *South America* (New York, 1912), p. 20.

[2] Bahia ("Bay") is pronounced *Bäh-ee'-uh* and is written, in "simplified" spelling, Baía. The city is also known as São Salvador or, more correctly, Salvador ("Savior").

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

GLOSSARY

(Terms identified when first introduced in the text and not used again have been omitted.)

104

abará: Food of African origin, consisting of bean paste, seasoned with pepper and oil of the *dendê* palm.

acaça (acassá): Afro-Brazilian drink, made by fermenting a mixture of cracked corn (or rice), sugar, and water.

acarajé: Food of African origin, consisting of a small croquette of bean paste and shrimp, seasoned with onions and pepper and fried in oil of the *dendê* palm.

achôgún (axôgún): Sacred specialist who performs animal sacrifices at an Afro-Brazilian cult center; also called "second *pai-de-santo*" (first assistant to the leader of the cult).

adjá: Musical instrument, composed of a small metal bell with a long handle, which is shaken at the height of the heads of the ceremonial dancers by the leader of an Afro-Brazilian cult, to promote further the arrival of a deity during a ceremonial dance.

adro: Square or other open place in front of or to one or both sides of a church.

Africano (fem. *Africana*): 1. Person born in Africa. 2. *Candomblé* (q.v.).

agê: Musical instrument, consisting of a large gourd containing pebbles and covered with a small cotton net in whose meshes cowries have been fastened, to be shaken in the hand. Also called *piano-de-cuia*.

agôgô: Bi-tonal musical instrument, consisting of two hollow iron cones joined together, to be struck with an iron pin by the leader of an Afro-Brazilian cult ceremony, to sound the first note of each invocation to a deity and then to accompany the drums during that invocation.

alabê: Head drummer in an Afro-Brazilian cult.

ama: Nursemaid, usually (during the slave regime) a colored woman slave.

4; Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

• 104

amancebado: Living in a "common-law" or other conjugal union outside official marriage. The more common term is *amasiado*.

amante: Paramour (as used here, although has other meanings).

amasiado (amaziado): Living in a "common law" or other conjugal union outside official marriage (see p. 120).

amiga: Feminine form of *amigo;* literally, "friend," but ordinarily meaning either "common-law" wife or "paramour."

anum (anu): Bird, of the Cuculidae family.

ar-do-vento: Literally, "air of the wind"; a folk "illness," presumed to be caused by a breeze or wind which produces temporary paralysis of part of the body or even coma. Also known as *estupor*.

arruda: Rue, an aromatic plant of bitter taste, with presumed magical (as well as medicinal) properties.

atabaque (tambaque): Sacred drum, employed in sets of three, of varying sizes but always of wood, in Afro-Brazilian cult ceremonies.

azeite-de-dendê: Oil of the *dendê* palm *(Elaeis guineensis)*, of African origin acclimated to Brazil.

babalaô: Foreteller of future events, in Afro-Brazilian cult world.

babalôrixá (babá): Leader (male) of the Afro-Brazilian cult; better known as *pai-de-santo* (see p. 208 n.).

bacharel (pl. *bachareis*): Principally, a graduate of a law school (or, more recently, of a Faculty of Philosophy, Science and Letters), but also one who has completed the course of a secondary school *(liceu, ginásio)*.

Bahiana: Literally, "a female inhabitant of Bahia." Term used more commonly to refer to colored women who wear a traditional costume (see pp. 247–48) and sell Afro-Brazilian food delicacies in the streets, as well as to refer to this costume itself.

balangandan (balangandã): Ornament formerly worn upon special occasions by the more well-to-do colored women at Bahia (see p. 246 n.).

barracão: Sacred dance pavilion where public ceremonies of an Afro-Brazilian cult are held (as used here, although has other meanings in Brazil).

bátá: Long, white, loose-flowing blouse, usually of cotton but sometimes of silk, ordinarily trimmed with wide lace.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

104.

batucada: At Bahia, a group, usually composed of fifteen or twenty young men, invariably blacks or dark mixed-bloods, who parade in single file at Carnival time while playing instruments of the Afro-Brazilian cult (see p. 201).

batuque: Dance of Afro-Brazilian origin, with musical accompaniment (see pp. 100–101).

bozó: Magical means for causing harm to a person or thing (see p. 252 n); also called *feitiço*, *bruxaria*, or *negócio*.

branco (fem. *branca*): Literally, "white." Reflects, however, circumstances not only of color but also of status, as well as the personal relationship, at the time, of the speaker to the person referred to.

branco-da-Bahia: See Introduction to this edition.

branqueado: Literally, "whitened"; that is nearly white.

búzios: Cowries, or small, ivory-colored, glossy shells of a mollusk found on the shores of the Indian ocean and used for money in parts of Africa and Asia. Worn by some women specialists of the Afro-Brazilian cult, and also used when foretelling future events.

caboclo: Amerindian (as used here, although has other racial or cultural meanings in Brazil).

cabra: Mixed-blood, one of whose parents is of African descent and the other an European-African half-breed (as used here, although has other meanings).

cachaça: Popular term for aguardente, or Brazilian rum; also known as *pinga*, and by at least some 126 other names, in different parts of Brazil.

cafuzo (cafuso): Amerindian-African mixed-blood.

câmara: Legislative body.

camarinha: Sacred room in which prospective sacred dancers of the Afro-Brazilian cult are interned during their period of training and initiation.

candomblé: Afro-Brazilian cult as known at Bahia (see Chap. X); called *xangô*, in Recife; *catimbó*, in certain other parts of northeast Brazil; and *macumba*, in Rio de Janeiro.

candomblé caboclo: Folk cult whose ritual, ceremony and belief are extensively, or even predominantly, of Amerindian origin.

canzá (canzuá, ganzuá): Afro-Brazilian cult center; term is a cor-

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

• 104

ruption, and generalization, of "Gantois," the name of one cult center at Bahia (see p. 300).

capitania: Huge land grant and administrative unit in colonial Brazil, which subsequently became a Province and, after the founding of the Republic, a State.

capitão (pl. *capitães*)-*do-mato* (formerly written, *matto*): "Bush-captain," hired to track down, capture and return fugitive slaves.

capitão-mor: Administrative head of a capitania (q.v.).

capoeira: A complex form of personal combat, originally developed by fugitives slaves, and now enjoyed, in simulated form, as a sport (see pp. 250–51).

carregador: Porter, baggageman, packer, loader.

carroceiro: Wagoner, cartman.

carurú: Food of African origin, consisting of okra, fish, shrimp, and other ingredients, seasoned with oil of the *dendê* palm and pepper. Considered to be a special delicacy of the Afro-Brazilian deities, the *Begi* (Cosme and Damião).

casa-de-candomblé: Afro-Brazilian cult center.

caxixi: Musical instrument, consisting of a small reed pouch containing pebbles or cowries, to be shaken in the hand.

cobrador: Collector of fares on streetcars, buses, etc., or one who makes change for the payment of such fares (as used here, although has also a more general meaning).

colégio (formerly written, *collégio*): A secondary school (as used here, although, in different connections and at different times in Brazil, has had other meanings).

comida: Literally "food"; used here in a more special sense, to refer to the food offering made to a deity of the Afro-Brazilian cult.

consórcio: Conjugal union, either legal or outside marriage.

cordão (pl. *cordões*): Group of persons of African descent who march, dance, clap their hands and sing songs of African derivation in the streets at Carnival time (see p. 201).

da costa: "From the West Coast of Africa"; used, for example, in the phrases: *pimenta* (pepper) *da costa*, *pano* (cloth) *da costa*, *sabão* (soap) *da costa*, *palha* (fiber) *da costa*.

cuica: Musical instrument, composed of a hollow wooden cylinder closed at one end and having a stick covered with resin appended

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

1040

in the center of the drumhead which is gripped by the hand of the "player," and the hand drawn back and forth to make a muffled, pulsating sound.

despacho: Sacrificial offering, made to a deity of the Afro-Brazilian cult; for example, to Exu, at the opening of each ceremony, to propitiate him and thus avoid any prank which he might occasion and which might disturb the subsequent ceremony. Ordinarily consists of *farofa* (q.v.), with oil of the *dendê* palm, a dead chicken, coins of copper or nickel, a piece of red cloth, a candle, perhaps a rag doll. Often left at crossroads or at the foot of a *gameleira* tree.

desprêzo: Scorn, contempt.

doutor (fem. *doutora*): 1. One who has graduated from a professional school, especially of medicine or law but also of other disciplines. 2. One who has shown himself erudite in any field. 3. One with high prestige.

encomendação: A special prayer for a deceased person.

engenho: Sugar plantation in colonial Brazil, together with its primitive (but effective) mill for processing sugar cane (as used here, although has several other meanings).

estado-de-santo: Literally, "state of the saint (deity)"; that is, "possession," as experienced during an Afro-Brazilian cult ceremony, when a ceremonial dancer "receives" the "visitation" of a deity.

farofa (farófia): Manioc meal, cooked to form a mush, with butter or other fat added.

fazenda: Large rural property, in cultivation or used to raise live stock, especially cattle (as employed here, although has other meanings in Brazil).

fazendeiro: Landed proprietor, who oversees (but does no manual labor on) his rural property (*fazenda*).

feiticeiro: Practitioner of "black" magic.

feitiço: "Black" magic.

festa: Any celebration of familial, religious or popular character; corresponds to the Spanish *fiesta*.

fidalgo: Of noble lineage (as used here).

figa: A charm, made of ebony, coral, gold, silver, jade, or other substance, in the form of a closed fist with the thumb inserted

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

between the index and middle fingers, and worn to protect one from the "evil eye."

filha-de-santo: Ceremonial dancer of an Afro-Brazilian cult, who serves as the intermediary of the deity to whom she is dedicated and who is presumed to "enter her head" during a sacred dance.

fiscal (pl. *fiscais*): One who collects fees, taxes, or other public funds, or checks on their collection (including fares) by another.

formado: Graduated from a professional school.

fubá: Meal or flour made from maize or rice.

funcionário público: Federal, state or municipal employee.

gameleira (gamelleira): Wild fig tree. In Bahia, sometimes called *pé* (tree) *de Lôko*, after the Afro-Brazilian deity whose fetish it is presumed to be.

homem (pl. *homens*) *de côr*: Man (men) of color.

irmandade: Religious brotherhood.

jacamim (jacami, jacumim): Bird of the Psophiidae family, or South American trumpeters.

macumba: The Afro-Brazilian cult as known in the area of Rio de Janeiro; occasionally, by extension, this cult in other parts of Brazil.

macumbeiro: Practitioner of "black" magic; in Bahia, more commonly called *feiticeiro*.

mãe-de-santo: Head (female) of an Afro-Brazilian cult center, responsible for the religious, moral, and temporal welfare of its adherents, and especially for the religious education of the *filhas-de-santo*, or ceremonial dancers.

mãe-preta: Literally, "black mother." Colored woman slave to whom the care of the master's children was given.

mães-d'agua: Order of female deities of the Afro-Brazilian cult presumed to inhabit bodies of water (some, fresh water, and some, salt water).

Malê: Mohammedan of African origin.

mameluco: European-Amerindian mixed-blood.

manceba: Either a "common-law" wife or a paramour; term rarely used except in erudite speech, *amiga* or *amasia* being more common.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

104 •

mancebia: Conjugal union outside marriage in which there is some degree of permanency.

mato (formerly written, *matto*): "The bush," an uninhabited, usually timbered area (as used here, although has other meanings in Brazil).

mestiço: Mixed-blood.

moreno (fem. *morena*): Person of dark complexion, with dark eyes and dark hair, ordinarily (but not always) a mixed-blood (see pp. 136–38). Friendship, or other source of favorable attitudes, may lead to the term being applied to a person otherwise considered a *prêto*. When pronounced with a certain emphasis, indicates much darker color, representing an ironical reference to the common tendency to "grade up" a black friend to the *moreno* category.

mulher (pl. *mulheres*) *de côr*: Woman (women) of color.

município: Administrative sub-division of a Brazilian State, somewhat (but not completely) comparable to a county in the United States.

muxôxo: Act of pursing the lips and uttering, with the aid of the tongue, a sudden "tsk"-like sound, while the chin is pushed sharply forward and upward, the whole signifying contempt or disdain.

negro (fem. *negra*, *nega*): Literally, "black"; however, has had three other meanings in Brazil, two of which carry low-status connotation: 1) a slave, and 2) one who works hard (at manual labor), and the third of which, paradoxically, reflecting certain intimate personal relations during slavery, makes it a term of endearment. Seldom heard in Bahia today in any of the three earlier meanings except in conflict situations.

negro-de-ganho: Semi-independent slave, who resided away from his master's residence and arranged his own employment, usually paying the master a stated sum weekly and retaining for himself any balance remaining (see pp. 38–39).

negros novos: Literally, "new negroes"; that is, recently imported Africans.

obi (*ɔrɔbɔ́*): A secred fruit (*kola*), imported from Africa for use in connection with rituals of the Afro-Brazilian cult. Thought to

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

104

possess magical properties, especially in connection with oracular functions and religious sacrifice.

ôgan (*ôgã*): Male functionary of the Afro-Brazilian cult, presumed to be "selected" by the deities. His primary obligation is to assist the head of the cult, especially with finances and public relations, particularly those involving governmental authorities.

onça: *Felis uncia*, a forest cat resembling the leopard; name also popularly given in Brazil to *puma concolor* and *panthera onça*.

ôrixá (*ôrishá*): Afro-Brazilian deity; for example, Ogun, Xangô, Yemanjá (see Chap. X).

pai-de-santo (formerly spelled *pae*): Head (male) of an Afro-Brazilian cult center, responsible for the religious, moral and temporal welfare of its adherents, and especially for the religious education of the *filhas-de-santo*, or ceremonial dancers. Also called *babalôrixá*; or simply, *babá*.

pardo (fem. *parda*): Literally, "brown"; ordinarily used, however, especially in official statistics, to refer to the entire range of intermediate "colors" between black and white.

pegi: Sanctuary in which sacred fetishes of the Afro-Brazilian cult are kept.

piaçaba (*piaçava*, *piassava*): Fibre of certain palms, sometimes used to make brooms.

praça: Public square.

preceito: Ritualistic obligation in connection with the Afro-Brazilian cult.

prêto (fem. *preta*): Literally, "black." Reflects, however, circumstances not only of color but also of status, as well as the personal relationship, at the time, of the speaker to the person referred to.

professor catedrático: Professor at a professional school or a division of a university, who has obtained permanent tenure of a teaching post of the highest rank by means of a public examination, based upon a thesis presented.

quartinha: Clay vessel used to keep water cool by way of evaporation; also called, *quarta*, *moringa*, *moringue*.

reitor: Principal, or director, of a school.

relicário: reliquary.

rendeiro: 1. One who rents his property, usually farmland and "on shares." 2. A renter.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

104

roça: Literally, "land from which the native vegetation has been cut away, in preparation for planting"; hence, a planted field, plot or orchard.

saia grande: Literally, "large skirt"; used especially to refer to that which is worn bouffant by many colored women at Bahia (see p. 246).

salão: Large room where guests are received and balls, concerts, etc. given (as used here).

samba: Song, or dance, of African origin, with (in rural areas) vocal accompaniment. (The dance as observed in rural areas usually differs markedly from the more sophisticated urban one.)

sandália: A leather slipper, with a low heel and no quarter.

saudade: (A difficult word to translate.) Nostalgia, longing, "pleasurable sadness," with intense emotional content. One dictionary definition: "a sad, but sweet remembrance of a person or thing far away or extinct, accompanied by an ardent desire to see or to possess it once more."

seita: Literally, "sect"; in Bahia, also refers to an Afro-Brazilian cult center.

senhor (pl. *senhores*): 1. Mister. 2. Master (of slaves). 3. (Formerly) member of the rural aristocracy, particularly as used in the phrase, *senhor de engenho* (proprietor of a sugar plantation).

senzala: Slave quarters.

sertão: A predominantly virgin, unsettled area, interior from an important settlement (which ordinarily is located on, or near, the seacoast). Term sometimes translated as "backlands."

termo: A judicial unit, a subdivision of a *comarca* (section of a state judicial system), presided over by a *juiz-de-direito*.

terreiro: 1. Space, ordinarily kept swept bare, immediately around a rural house. 2. Grounds of an Afro-Brazilian cult center; and, by inclusion, 3. The cult center itself.

torço (*torso*): Turban, of silk or cotton, worn by the *Bahianas* (q.v.).

um pouco da raça: Literally, "a little of the race"; that is, "of some African descent."

urtiga: Any one of a number of species of nettles.

velha: Feminine form of *velho*: old.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazillans SOll

• 104

vestimenta bahiana: Characteristic costume worn by many Bahian colored women, especially those closely identified with the Afro-Brazilian cult (see p. 246).

xaque-xaque: Musical instrument, composed of a hollow metal shell in the form of a dumbbell in each of whose extremities pebbles have been placed. Term is onomatopoetic, in imitation of the sound produced when the instrument is shaken.

yaô: An initiate of the Afro-Brazilian cult during the period she is being "prepared" to serve as a sacred dancer, or *filha-de-santo*.